Canadian Police College Discussion Paper Series

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Change and Innovation in Canadian Policing

The Canadian Police College is pleased to present a Discussion Paper Series designed to explore thoughts, ideas and developing practices under the theme of "Change and Innovation in Canadian Policing". Leading experts have been commissioned to introduce readers to the latest thinking and research on a number of current policing issues and innovations in order to inform and stimulate further discourse on the future of policing and public safety in Canada.

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Tiered Policing: An Alternative Model of Police Service Delivery

Paul F. McKenna

In an ongoing search for more effective and efficient policing, police in Canada and elsewhere are experimenting with new models of police service delivery. This discussion paper explores one of these new approaches - the sometimes controversial topic of "tiered policing". It begins with a clarification of the term and the rationale or logic for this innovative approach to using human resources in policing. Tiered policing models essentially broaden the categories and types of police personnel that perform various police functions and a typology of tiered policing personal is presented: including regular police, police with limited powers, special constables, as well as, private security, civilian members and community partners. The paper examines the creation deployment of a new type of tiered police officer introduced in the UK - Police Community Support Officer (PCSO) and some innovative Canadian examples of tiered policing. The paper concludes with an overview of some of the policy and implementation issues raised by the introduction of tiered policing models.

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Editor's Introduction

Policing in Canada and elsewhere is being forced to respond to a variety of external social, political and economic pressures. As most western governments grapple with limiting the cost of delivering public services, the ability of conventional police services to meet both traditional and new policing demands without increasing cost has become an important practical and policy question

It is not surprising then, that finding cost-effective ways to deliver diverse police services has become a driver of contemporary police reform. The high cost of police personnel in Canada has focused particular attention on developing more effective and efficient utilization of police officers time and expertise. This has meant exploring a range of policing functions and activities that can be done effectively by someone other than a fully trained, armed and legally empowered police officer. While the officer based service delivery model has worked well in the past, spiraling policing costs and new policing demands have made it increasingly limited and fiscally unsustainable, potentially jeopardizing the ability of police services to provide communities with the quality and diversity of police services they desire.

"Tiered policing," describes an innovative strategy designed to use a mix of conventional ``sworn police officers" with other service providers such as; new types of police (i.e. PCSO), civilians, private security, community agencies, and volunteers etc., to perform and deliver a range of police functions and activities. Recruited, trained, empowered and paid differently than conventional police officers, tiered policing models offer a range of less costly and more diverse policing personnel for police services to utilize. This policing model allows sworn police to focus their special powers and expertise on "core" policing functions while other police personnel deal with policing issues that might otherwise be unavailable if dependent solely on the availability of a sworn police officer.

In this paper Canadian policing author and consultant Paul McKenna provides readers with a research-based overview of tiered policing, first by providing definitional clarity, then the rational and logic of tiered policing, descriptions of various policing types and tiers, a detailed review of a new type of police: police community support officers, some promising Canadian tiered policing examples and concludes with some of the practical and policy implications of tiered policing.

So just as our health care system utilizes a range of medical personnel to deliver healthcare services, the provision of public safety and security will increasingly have to rely on a more diverse and cost-efficient range of tiered policing personnel to deliver fiscally sustainable and increasingly diverse policing functions .

Dr. Christopher Murphy, Series Editor

Dr. Murphy is a Professor of Sociology and Social Anthropology at Dalhousie University. His work has focused primarily on Canadian Policing and he has published numerous articles and reports on varied policing topics such as: police change and reform, new models of policing and security, public and private policing, post 9/11 policing and police research and policing policy.

Introduction

Current economic concerns have prompted political leaders, especially at the municipal level, to press for changes in policing that will make this vital public service more cost-efficient and police budgets more fiscally sustainable. In addition there is a growing recognition by police leaders that the current structure of policing also needs to change in order to respond to new and emerging types of crime as well as adapt to more collaborative approaches to securing overall public safety.

In response, some police services are exploring more cost-effective widening and diversifying of their approaches to the delivery of police services, often described as 'tiered policing'. While the term tiered policing has been used previously in policing literature, this paper will focus primarily on the tiered police "service" model by.

- Defining tiered policing models by emphasizing the tiered service delivery model;
- Presenting the rationale and conceptual framework for tiered policing in the current policing environment;
- Introducing a typology of policing types or categories deployed in tiered policing models;
- Describing international and Canadian examples of tiered policing with a special emphasis on the relatively recently created police community support officer (PCSO) function; and
- Considering some of the key organizational and policy implications associated with introducing tiered policing.

Tiered Policing Models: Past and Present

It has been noted that most forms of policing are, in some sense, tiered (Brogden, 2001). The term tiered policing has been applied previously to other areas of policing. Though now primarily understood as a service delivery model that uses different categories of policing personnel, this paper will first briefly consider use of the term tiered policing as emphasizing differential police response.

Tiered Policing: Differential Police Response:

In the past, police have used tiered policing to refer to a particular approach to the operational, or front-line, deployment of police officers. For example, several Canadian departments have experimented and implemented a "tiered" police response to calls for service. This involves police dispatchers placing calls for service into specific categories that result in varied police responses. This 'triage' approach to calls for service has been variously referred to as: selective initial response, differential response, as well as, a

"tiered" policing response (Worden, 1993; Worden & Mastrofski, 1998). This approach has no impact on the deployment of sworn officers as the primary call responders, nor is the organizational structure and rank hierarchy of the department changed. However, this type of tiered policing does have an impact on workload, response times, and public satisfaction. A number of Canadian differential response initiatives have been identified as forms of operational tiered policing (Public Safety Canada, 2013). The following examples provide some insight into this type of tiered policing approach:

The Ottawa Police Service is currently collaborating with four branches of Emergency and Protective Services within the city and has developed an Emergency Service Efficiency Roadmap which includes a tiered response review. In 2012, the services signed a Tiered Response Activation Agreement with Fire and Paramedic Services for tiered response activation. This agreement sets out key principles to ensure that the right services arrive at the right time, in the right location as an emergency response, with coordination undertaken through a Project Management Office.

The Saanich Police Department has plans to work with the Victoria Police Department to implement an integrated approach to forensic analysis, which may lead to a tiered approach to certain types of crime at a regional level. As an example of operational tiered policing, this approach attempts to ensure that the appropriate service is deployed on an as needed basis in a sequential response that may include any, or all, of the involved public safety services.

Tiered Police Service Delivery

Recent budgetary pressures and limited police resources have encouraged police leaders to consider deploying different types of police personnel to perform some police functions and to deliver selected police services. The rationale for developing an alternative police service model is based on the following assumptions:

- Significant increases in the cost of public policing have brought into serious question the sustainability of maintaining the quality of police services. As a result governments are concerned about reducing or containing policing costs without diminishing service quality;
- Police officer salaries and benefits constitute about 85% of all policing costs. As conventional police services rely primarily on sworn police officers to perform most police functions and services the standard police response model has meant rapidly increasing policing costs or a rationing of police services;
- Research and analysis suggest that there are some police functions and services

that do not actually require the special legal powers and training of a conventional police officer and could be done by potentially more cost-effective, non-sworn policing personnel; and,

- Thus a "tiered" police service model would deploy a broader mix of different "types" or tiers of police personnel to perform a mix of police functions and activities at a lower cost, making public policing more fiscally sustainable.

The Tiered Police Service Model

Tiered policing models utilize a greater variety of types of police personnel for performing various police functions and offering a range of police services. This requires the creation of "new" categories of police personnel such as Police Community Support Officers and/or expanding the use of existing non-police personnel such as civilian members and private security. These new police personnel typically have limited legal powers, different recruiting and training requirements, as well as, lower salaries and benefits. They are usually deployed in a limited range of administrative, support, technical, management and operational areas of policing. (Potential quote, i.e. SPS)

The primary goal of a tiered policing service is to shift some costly and time-consuming police functions and services away from sworn police officers to a less costly mix of alternative service providers. For example, a British study (Boyd et al. 2011) of selected police functions such as business support, control room, files, forensics, and operational support concluded that 58% of these positions did not need to be staffed by sworn police officer. Transferring some of the approximately 85% of standard policing functions and activities currently delivered by sworn police officers to a more cost-effective mix of less expensive policing personnel would, in theory, reduce policing costs while also maintaining services.

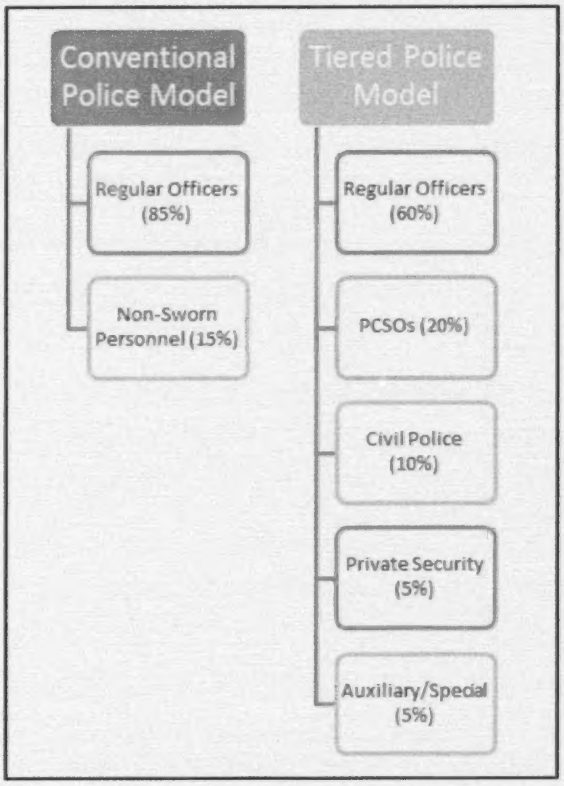

Figure 1: Comparison of Conventional & Tiered Police Service Models

Estimates (Long and Robinson, 2006) vary as to how much cheaper or more cost-effective using alternative police personnel might actually be.

But as pay and benefit rates for both civilian and community police are about 50-60% of those of a regular police officer this might amount to considerable cost saving. For example, a study by Griffiths et al. (2006) of potential civilianization in the Vancouver Police Department estimated that replacing 19 police officer administrative positions with qualified civilian employee would save the department approximately $600,000 a year. These kinds of savings might allow a police service to reduce their costs while maintaining an otherwise unaffordable level or type of police service.

Another benefit of the tiered policing model is its potential to broaden of the human resource and skills pool within a given police organization. The conventional police practice of trying to meet its diverse management and operational requirements from within the ranks of sworn police officers is increasingly a limiting and outdated organizational practice. Tiered policing expands policing opportunities beyond conventional police officer requirements, and may work to attract and utilize people from non-traditional police profiles and backgrounds. A tiered police service with a broader range of police functions might make it easier to attract personnel from sometimes under-represented cultural and ethnic groups or communities (e.g., Afro-Canadian, Aboriginal, LGBT, etc.), those with broad work experience and expertise (e.g., business or military), specialized technical skills (e.g., computers and forensics), academic social science qualifications (e.g., analytic, research and statistical expertise) or particular levels and types of education (e.g., law, criminology, political science, or business graduates). By opening up some specialized policing functions to unconventional policing personnel, police services can become more flexible and sophisticated organizations, enhancing their capacity to better respond to the increasingly complex and diverse demands of the modern policing environment.

While tiered policing models deploy a more diverse mix of policing personnel they are also meant to "complement and support" core police functions and activities. Tiered police service models allow regular police officers to better utilize their special powers and training to focus on more essential police function and activities. Thus, by creating a more cost-effective "tiered service" model, a police organization could become more sustainable by avoiding reducing, eliminating, or privatizing costly non-essential yet publically important policing functions and services.

So just as the delivery of modern health care relies on a broad range of different types of medical service providers (categories of doctors, nurses, assistants, and technicians), tiered policing also promises a more cost-effective and efficient organizational model

utilizing a diverse mix of policing personnel to deliver a broad range of policing services

A Tiered Policing Personnel Typology

The typical tiered policing service model provides the following range and types of police personnel to perform a variety policing functions and activities.

1) **Sworn Police Officers** – in this category, legally empowered sworn officers would provide most, if not all, of the traditional core or essential police services, especially those requiring special legal powers and the potential use of force. This includes powers of arrest, search and seizure, aspects of criminal investigation, and other law enforcement duties. They would also direct and manage, although not necessarily deliver, other non-essential police services provided by non-sworn policing personnel in the organization;

2) **Police Personnel: Limited Powers** – this category would include individuals who are sworn, uniformed police officers but have limited legal powers, may be unarmed, and are under the direction and supervision of sworn full-time police officers. They would primarily be involved in important but non-core police functions such as general foot patrol, motorized patrol, public information services, community involvement, and other duties. An example of this approach may be found in the Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs);

3) **Civilian Police Employees** – the tiered model would expand the use of civilian employees for specialized technical, administrative and analytic purposes (e.g., financial management strategic planning, information technology, research and planning, and communications) as well as varied general support and technical services (e.g., forensic technicians, and property room management). An example of this approach may be found in many Canadian police services associated with areas such as corporate services, operational support, and community and crime prevention;

"Civilianization or Special Constable status in non-police related areas of the Service can make good operational and monetary sense. Civilians come with skill sets and expertise not associated or required for the police role. It also facilitates continuity and corporate memory in positions that traditionally have police officers rotating in and out."
***Chief Clive Weighill,** Saskatoon Police Service*

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4) **Special Constables, Auxiliaries, & Cadets** – this category would include the expanded use of special constables, auxiliary police, and police cadets in providing various support policing functions such as staffing community policing/outreach offices,

attendance at special events, public information presentations, etc.;

5) **Private Security** – the tiered model would expand the use of private security to provide a variety of non-essential but resource-consuming police services operating under the direction and supervision of sworn police officers. In the UK private security under police contract are increasingly being used to perform a variety of previous police operational, support and administrative policing functions. In Canada, police routinely use Commissionaires, or private security firms, to deliver a range non-core services such as parking enforcement, vehicle dispatch, inventory control, and crime scene security;

6) **Community Groups & Civilian Volunteers** – the tiered model actively engages the assistance and involvement of resources in the community by using neighbourhood groups, volunteers, local service organizations and businesses as participants in the delivery of certain non-essential, but important, police services. This may include community patrols, victim assistance services, staffing of police service outlets, providing public safety information within the community, as well as other defined services.

See Appendix A – Table of Authorities

Tiered Policing: International and Canadian Examples

The following are some innovative International and Canadian examples of tiered policing in action.

Great Britain and Police Community Support Officers

British police have recently been responding to growing political and financial pressures to enhance their public presence and community profile while also reducing their policing costs. They have responded to this difficult challenge by introducing a number of dramatic changes and innovations in the way they manage, organize and deliver police services. One of the most prominent innovations is the creation of tiered policing approach based largely on the creation of **Police Community Support Officers** (PCSO). Viewed as a less costly and effective alternative to deploying regular police for some policing functions, the PCSO add an important new dimension to tiered policing models that merits further exploration and scrutiny.

Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs)

Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) are essentially a new type of uniformed "civilian" police with limited legal powers that are used to carry out a range of policing functions and activities, usually performed by conventional sworn police officer. Intended to 'supplement' the work of regular police officers and provide a

visible "police" presence, they were first introduced by the Metropolitan (London) Police in 2002. There are now over 15,000 PCSOs deployed throughout Great Britain.

PCSO first became operational in September 2002 in the London Borough of Westminster as part of the anti-terrorism patrols attached to the Metropolitan Police Service. Premised on the notion that public safety and reassurance is provided by a visible and accessible "police" presence it is not surprising PCSOs are most commonly used to do various forms of "visible patrol" (Cooper, et al., 2006). In addition, they perform a number of other significant policing functions such as non-incident-linked paperwork, briefings, and various kinds of community programs and involvement. For a more comprehensive overview of the full range police functions and activities see Figure #2, below.

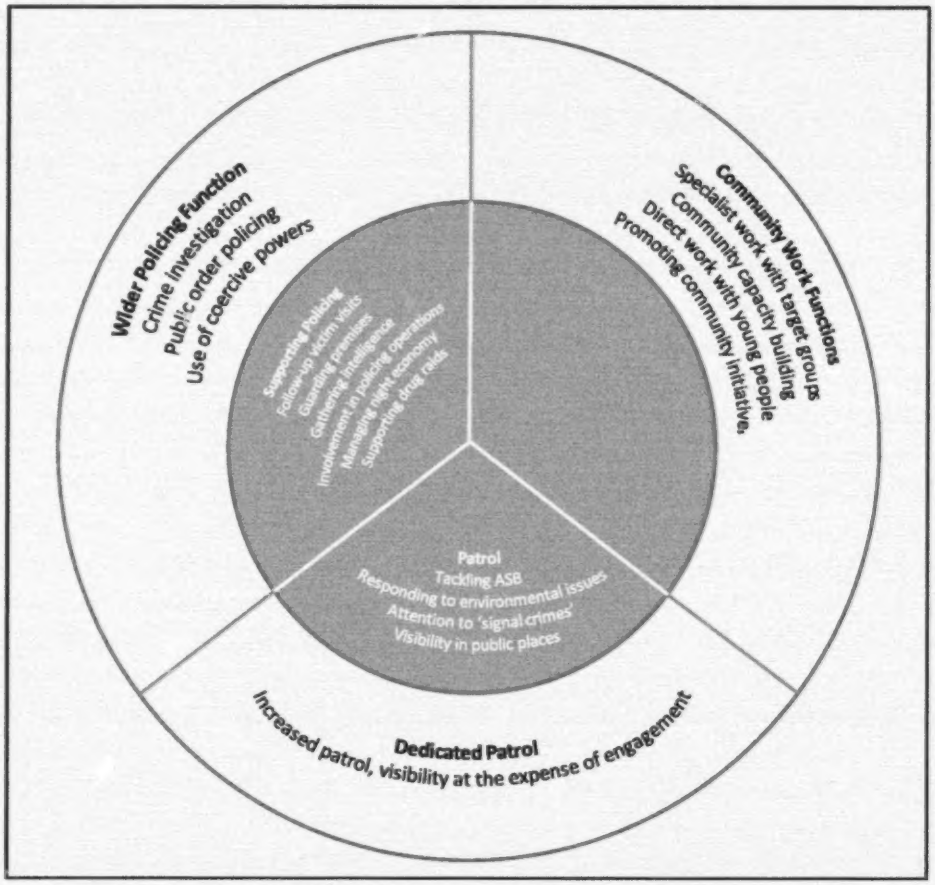

Figure 2: PCSO Policing Roles and Functions *(Adapted from: Long, Matthew and Robinson, Anne (2006))*

PCSO legal powers are defined in the *Police Reform Act 2002*. While more limited than regular police officers they do have sufficient legal powers to allow then to address a broad range of potential policing problem. A list of those powers are summarized in Table 1, below:

Table 1: PCSO Legal Powers

Main Area & Sub-Categories
Issue Penalty Notices
Disorder
Issue Fixed Penalty Notices
Truancy; Cycling on a footpath; Dogs fouling; Dog control orders; Littering
Search
Detained persons for dangerous items, or items that could assist in escape; Alcohol & tobacco; Stop & search in authorized areas
Seizure
Tobacco from person under 16; Drugs; Vehicles used to cause alarm
Enforce
By-laws; Certain licencing offences
Remove
Children in contravention of curfew notices; Persons under 16 to their place of residence; Abandoned vehicles
Enter
Limited power to enter licenced premises; Search any premises for purposes of saving life, or preventing serious damage to property
Stop
Vehicle for testing; Cycles; In authorized areas
Traffic-related
Direct traffic; Control traffic
Photograph
Persons away from a police station
Use of Force
Reasonable force to prevent escape of detained person, or, transfer control of detained person

The primary rationale for deploying PCSOs instead of regular police officers is based on the assumption that PCSOs will result in significant cost savings and enhanced policing capacity. The average salary of PCSOs is typically about 1/2 to 3/4 of a regular constable. This cost-saving would allow a police organization to deploy more PCSOs to do the work of regular police officers, an attractive option for police services trying to maintain an affordable but visible and accessible police service. However unless this salary differential is maintained and upward salary pressures are resisted the fiscal rational for using PSCO over regular police is weakened considerably.

While PCSOs may be a more cost-effective option for some policing functions, serious questions about their policing effectiveness also need to be addressed. Preliminary evaluations of PCSO deployment to date have tended to be generally supportive. An evaluation completed in West Yorkshire (Long and Robinson, 2006) indicated that 91% of the public said that PCSOs provide 'value for money' and would be a loss for their community should their funding not be sustained. A study of CSOs impact in the city centres of Leeds and Bradford (Crawford et al., 2004) found high level of public satisfaction with the nature of contacts with CSOs and 82% greed that the presence of PCSOs made the city centre more "welcoming". They also found that where PCSOs were deployed there was a 31%

drop in vehicle crime, a 47% decline in personal robbery; a 19% drop in vehicle crime and a 46% decline in personal robbery. Thus it would appear that PCSOs are publicly popular and where deployed they appear to be having a positive impact on various forms of street crime and public disorder.

In addition to their potential cost saving and operational benefits it was also found that PCSOs contributed to the representativeness and diversity within a police service (Johnston, 2006). Given the different requirements for PCSO positions British police found it easier to recruit candidates from underrepresented communities and groups. Also many PCSOs see their jobs as a stepping-stone to a regular policing career, this allows the individual and the police organization to make a more informed determinations about appropriate occupational fit.

Evaluations (Cooper et al., 2006) have also identified a number of development and implementation issues which need to be considered when introducing a PCSO model. These include:

- **Selection** – it is important that selection standards and processes be rigorously and consistently applied to ensure the intake of a diverse range of PCSO candidates;
- **Training** – special emphasis needs to be placed on the quality of the initial training provided to PCSOs to ensure they are equipped to perform their mandated functions adequately. A national training program is seen as valuable for this purpose;
- **Induction** – careful consideration needs to be directed to the integration of new PCSOs within the police organizations to which they are attached; and
- **Supervision** – the quality of PCSO supervision is viewed as important to the success of this program. With a significant proportion (85%) of this supervision falling to local police sergeants, it is essential that PCSOs understand their role and that this additional supervisory workload is monitored.

Finally two critical factors were identified as necessary for ensuring the success of PCSOs in a tired policing organization:

- PCSO must be embedded within the organizational structure of the police service; and,
- Police organizations must ensure regular police officers and the public are fully knowledgeable about the unique role and purpose of PCSOs.

#2 – Another International Example

The Dutch police are experimenting with a new rank of 'police surveillant' – these new type of police are authorized to carry out a limited range of activities in order to respond to the community's demand for sustained uniform presence on the streets. Additionally, a number of Dutch municipal councils have introduced a third tier in the form of "City Guards" who possess only citizen (i.e., no special) powers. These individuals provide a daytime patrol designed to offer a public reassurance presence (Johnston, 2003).

Canadian Examples of Tiered Policing

While widening the range or categories of police personnel may be a different approach to police service delivery, this vision of tiered policing is by no means new in Canada. A 1990 discussion paper on the future of policing in Canada clearly introduced the concept of tiered policing (Normandeau and Leighton, 1990). This early study describes five levels, or tiers, of policing personnel, each with particular educational qualifications and skills: 1) constable; 2) community police officer; 3) specialized police officer; 4) police manager; and 5) police chief.

Despite this early introduction of the concept of tiered policing, until recently there has been little interest in experimenting with tiered policing in Canada. The majority of police services still rely on "sworn" police officers to perform most policing functions and services and adhere to standard police roles and position descriptions. However, recent financial pressures on many Canadian police services and recognition of the need for a more flexible range of services have resulted in an increasing interest in experimentation with versions of tiered policing. These efforts are drawing growing attention and if successful will be increasingly accepted as a new best policing practice.

The Vancouver Police Community Safety Officer Program

Beginning in April 2013, the Vancouver Police Department (VPD) introduced a Community Safety Officer Program which would involve the use of special constables to take low level, low risk reports on behalf of the VPD. These individuals would be "peace" officers with distinct uniforms that would differentiate them from "regular" police officers and would typically be deployed to guard crime scenes, tag property and do other general duties as assigned.

The Community Safety Officer Program introduces a new classification of employee who can provide citizens with a faster response to specific policing calls. It is anticipated that these special constables would support the front-line operations of the VPD, provide a visible police presence in the community, and enhance customer service while allowing fully-

trained police officers to respond to emergency calls and serious criminal matters. It is also viewed as a potential recruiting vehicle for attracting a wider pool of future police officers, especially within Vancouver's diverse community.

While it is anticipated that the community safety of program will save VPD money in the long run it has been estimated that this initiative will require start-up costs of approximately $475,000. The impact, effectiveness and cost of this program will become apparent as VPD will conduct both qualitative and quantitative evaluations of this initiative.

Winnipeg Police Service Cadet Program

The Winnipeg Police Service (WPS) established its Cadet Program in 2010. The cadets, sworn special constables, are a unique element of the WPS. The cadets provide a visual police presence [50% of duty time], build relationships with the community (e.g., attend community events, engage in community canvasses) [10%], and relieve front-line officers to focus on core police duties (40%). To that end, cadets:

a) respond to non-violent intoxicated persons calls;
b) direct traffic;
c) guard persons with mental health issues;
d) guard crime scenes.

"There were many obstacles (in establishing the Program) that were overcome with a clear vision, hard work, and diplomacy. The bottom line for the Winnipeg Police Service: we get to more calls, we get there faster, and we are doing much of the work in a cost effective manner with energetic well trained cadets."–**Superintendent Danny Smyth**

Establishing the program took a lot of effort – working with the Winnipeg Police Association on appropriate duties, protocols and supervision; with the City and provincial government on the securing the appropriate authorities for cadets, and dealing with potential recruiting barriers. Over the past four years, the Program has realized overall success and has become an integral part of how the WPS does business.

Calgary Transit Peace Officers

Calgary Transit has a Public Safety and Enforcement Section which employs 85.5 FTEs, including 77 peace officers. Transit personnel respond to a wide range of incidents on the system, including medical emergencies, harassment of passengers, vandalism, among others. This provides a 24-hour uniformed peace officer presence across the system producing a high level of security for passengers and staff.

Calgary Transit peace officers are appointed under the Alberta Peace Officer Program which is administered by the provincial solicitor

general and minister of justice. They have provincial statutory authority to enforce liquor laws, non-moving violations in relation to the *Traffic Safety Act* and may ban persons from the transit system under the *Trespass to Premises Act*. Transit peace officers possess citizen powers of arrest consistent with Section 494 of the *Criminal Code*.

In 2011, the authority of these peace officers was expanded to include the apprehension of persons with warrants outstanding for their arrest. In 2012, Calgary Transit approached the Calgary Police Service and the provincial solicitor general for approval to grant certain peace officers limited criminal investigation powers. This would allow Calgary Transit peace officers to participate in an integrated anti-graffiti team involving the Calgary Police Service and the City of Calgary's Animal and Bylaw Services. The details of the partnership between the CPS and Calgary Transit peace officers is contained in a memorandum of understanding (MOU) that is reviewed every three years.

The RCMP and Community Program Officers

The RCMP has also developed innovative approaches to service delivery in response to their challenging and varied policing environments. Building on an earlier "special constable" program used in aboriginal communities, the RCMP in New Brunswick's "J" Division has developed a "civilian" community program officer (CPO) function. In small community detachments with limited police personnel the important but time-consuming work of community and youth crime prevention can now be done in a more cost-effective manner by civilian Community Program Officers. CPO's provide an affordable, visible and accessible police presence in the community, making school presentations, providing services to seniors and youth, taking part in restorative justice initiatives and performing a variety of community related policing functions. The individuals selected for this role are expected to have strong people skills, often possess a university degree, or other post-secondary education and in the case of New Brunswick, several CPO positions are designated as bilingual.

The success of the program to date, and its adaptability to community variation, has meant that Community Program Officers are now being introduced in several divisions of the RCMP across Canada. While not as dramatic in scope and numbers as the British PCSOs, the RCMP CPO model demonstrates that by selectively deploying a less costly alternative to an officer-based service delivery model, police organizations with limited resources can continue to deliver important community policing services that might otherwise have to

be eliminated, or done at the expense of other core policing functions.

Organizational and Policy Implications

The creation and deployment of new types of police with different backgrounds, skills and functions constitutes a significant change in the way police services have been traditionally delivered. Though wide-ranging in scope and scale these tiered policing models appear to provide cost-effective and efficient alternatives to increasingly costly traditional police-only service delivery model. But introducing a tiered policing service model raises a number of significant policy and practical implications that need to be carefully considered as part of any future development:

- **Distinguishing Core Policing Functions** – the tiered policing model requires serious examination and categorization of "core" policing functions and activities – those that require a fully-trained and legally empowered police officer and those that do not. While there seem to be general agreement that policing activities which require special legal powers such as the use of force, arrest, and emergency response require the use of a sworn police officer, there remain many other non-core police functions relating to police presence, patrol, communications, which can be done by other authorized types of police personnel. While this has been the subject of some serious study and debate (Johnston, 2007) in the UK there is an urgent need for a Canadian review and discussion of this critical issue;
- **Increased Civilianization** – tiered policing may inevitably mean expanding the number and roles civilians play within a police organization. This will require some organizational reform as these civilian positions take on more responsibilities which may involve powers and functions that were formally the exclusive preserve of sworn members. Also, civilian personnel will be increasingly engaged in senior management positions that will involve the supervision and management of both sworn and civilian members and could result in civilian chiefs of police or chief constables;
- **Addressing Concerns of Police Associations** – tiered policing may challenge some of the interests and traditional assumptions of police unions/associations and their members. Among these concerns: that public safety will be compromised by the use of non-sworn police officers, that private security personnel will not have the skills, training, authority, and oversight to deliver the kind of police services expected by the public and that situations may arise where a civilian member, or special constable, may not have the capacity, or necessary powers, to handle a crisis properly. Generally police associations are concerned about what they perceive as the diminishing of their role and status within policing caused by reducing the functions they have historically been assigned. Addressing these concerns and

including front line police in the development of alternative service models will be important if these innovations are to be successful;

- **Experimentation, Innovation, & Evaluation of Initiatives** – tiered policing is of sufficient novelty that it represents an initiative that police services will approach with some caution and even skepticism. It will therefore be important that tiered policing models and innovations be carefully evaluated and assessed in order to provide the necessary "evidence" to justify its adoption as a best practice;
- **Civic Engagement & the "De-professionalization" of Policing** – tiered policing could be viewed as downgrading the status and practice of law enforcement. By introducing alternative types and categories of personnel who are authorized to conduct aspects of police "business" it may be seen that the role of police officers is being somehow diminished. While the notion that policing actually constitutes a "profession" remains debated, the displacement of fully-sworn officers from certain areas of law enforcement could be seen as confirmation of the demise of the public police officer's traditional 'monopoly' on policing services. This argument is counterbalanced by the rationale that cost effective tiered policing can also be seen as a way of "protecting" traditional core police functions and police status by enhancing overall policing capacity and expanding its personnel diversity complexity and professionalism.
- **Reconfiguring & Restructuring Police Organizations** – tiered policing will inevitably involve challenging the existing structure and organization of police services. Deploying tiered personnel in a service delivery model will require more complex personnel management and improved internal communications. Thus it is important to consider the organizational impact and implications of adopting a tiered policing service model as an essential part of the planning and implementation process.

Conclusion

Growing concern about the fiscal sustainability of Canadian policing has created a renewed interest in police innovation and change and the necessity for more cost-effective and fiscally sustainable approaches in the delivery of police services. One of the most talked about sustainable policing ideas revolves around the possibilities and potential of "tiered policing" as an alternative cost-efficient model for police service delivery.

This discussion paper has provided an overview of tiered policing by; describing its fiscal and operational rationale, its core objective and strategies, provided a summary typology of policing personnel types and tiers, described some Canadian and international examples, and

raised a number of the organizational and policy implications raised by tiered policing.

Whether tiered policing can deliver on its ambitious promise of providing more diverse and cost-effective police service requires further critical scrutiny and evidence before it can be considered a success. However, the preliminary evidence from Great Britain and its limited implementation in Canada suggest that some of the principles and practices of tiered policing are worth further exploration and experimentation. Tiered policing appears to offer at least the possibility of a more sustainable model of policing than the increasingly expensive and arguably unaffordable current model of conventional service delivery. Rather than simply 'doing more with less' or downsizing existing police resources to meet fiscal challenges, the key question should be whether tiered policing, and the use of alternative approaches to human resource deployment, allows the public police to better meet their operational, organizational, and functional requirements at present and into the future.

Hopefully by providing an introduction and overview of the core concepts, models and issues that constitute "tiered policing" this discussion paper will contribute to the current national conversation on change and innovation aimed at sustaining Canadian policing.

Note: The views and opinions expressed in this paper are solely those of the original authors and contributors. These views and opinions do not necessarily represent those of the CPC and partner organizations.

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Appendix A – Table of Authorities

	Legal Power/Authority	Governance	Rank	Remuneration	Duties/Activities	Example
Fully-sworn police officer	Full	Civilian governing authority; chief of police	Full range of ranks	Full salary, wages & benefits via collective agreement	Crime prevention; law enforcement; assistance to victims; emergency response; public order maintenance	Toronto Police Service 1st class constable
Part-time sworn police officer	Full	Chief of police	Limited range of ranks	Modified salary, wages & benefits tied to collective agreement	Specified by employment agreement	Calgary Police Service part-time & job-sharing officers working in HR & other areas
Police officer with limited powers	Partial & defined in statute or regulation	Chief of police	Limited range of ranks	Modified salary, wages & benefits tied to collective agreement		Police Community Support Officer (UK)
Special constables	Partial & defined in statute or regulation	Chief of police or senior officer (delegated authority)	Limited range of ranks	Modified salary, wages & benefits tied to collective agreement	Bike & foot patrols; traffic control; special events; fraud prevention	Auxiliary Constable program RCMP
Police cadets	None beyond civilian powers	Chief of police or senior officer (delegated authority	No rank	Limited salary, wages, or benefits includes uniform, equipment, etc.	Ride-along; patrols; special events; crime prevention	Calgary Police Auxiliary Cadet program
Civilian Police Employees	None beyond civilian powers	Chief of police or senior officer (delegated authority)	No rank	Full salary, wages & benefits via collective agreement; often lower rate of compensation than uniformed counterparts	Wide range of support roles, including financial management, strategic planning, policy & research, information technology, communications	Ottawa Police Service Corporate Services
Auxiliary personnel	None beyond civilian powers	Chief of police or senior officer (delegated authority)	Ranks distinct from regular police officers	No salary, wages, or benefits other than expense reimbursement, uniform, equipment, etc.	Assisting patrol officers with regular calls, check-stops, and special events	Medicine Hat Police Service Auxiliary Program
Citizen volunteers	None beyond civilian powers	Chief of police or senior officer (delegated authority)	No rank	No salary, wages, or benefits	Staffing community policing centres, Block Watch, Citizens' Crime Watch	Vancouver Police Department
Private security personnel	Partial & defined in statute or regulation	Chief of police or senior officer (delegated authority)	Ranks distinct from regular police officers	Modified salary, wages, and benefits tied to collective agreement	By-law enforcement; parking control; crime scene security; jail guard/detention services	Commissionaires under contract to police service